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ABSTRACT

Faced with the need to build new social and economic institutions following the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, Alaska Natives formed 12 regional non-profit making corporations. One of these, Northwest Arctic Inupiat (NANA), is bringing a human resources development approach to the area in an effort to develop enduring economic and occupational structures that promote self-sufficiency. The NANA region has three major institutional planning, management, and quasi-governmental organizations that are controlled de jure by the NANA people: the NANA Corporation, Mauneluk, Inc., and the Northwest Arctic School District (NWASD). The NANA Corporation provides leadership for a rural development strategy emphasizing self determination and the connection between cultural heritage and land use. Mauneluk, Inc., is responsible for coordinating, planning, and administering human service activities. With a special legal status similar to tribal organizations, Mauneluk receives millions of dollars for education, health, social services, community planning, and development. NWASD focuses on preparation for various lifestyles, cross-cultural education, vocational technical training, and, somewhat controversially, higher education. The future of NANA may rest on the future of subsistence lifesyles and on the massive alienation of adolescents and young adults. (SB)

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ALASKA NATIVE RURAL DEVELOPMENT: THE NANA EXPERIENCE

Michael J. Gaffney

Occasional Paper No. 2

Center for Cross-Cultural Studies
University of Alaska, Fairbanks

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ALASKA NATIVE RURAL DEVELOPMENT: THE NANA EXPERIENCE

Michael J. Gaffney
Alaska Native Studies Program
University of Alaska, Fairbanks

Prepared for: Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, and the Education and Rural Development Project, OECD, Paris, France

The indigenous Alaska Native community is now approaching the close of its first decade of self-directed development under the provisions of the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. For the majority of those Native people who live in remote, sparsely populated areas of the State, "development" means the building of new social and economic institutions which implicitly require substantial adaptation to culturally different cognitive styles and forms of human relationships. According to a specific formulation of the "development" concept, this paper attempts to:

1. describe the issues, processes, and conditions of Native institution-building, and

2. delineate, as a special development case, the efforts of one Alaska Native group, the Inupiat Eskimo of the Northwest Arctic, to manage the impacts of severe social change through a regional strategy of "human resource" development.

Prior to the concept of the human resources approach to development, it is essential to recognize that the central feature of the special case is a regionwide strategy for the dual development of rural economy and education as interconnecting social processes. Moreover, within the special case region of the Northwest Arctic Inupiat (NANA), the three major institutional planners and managers of these processes are emerging organizational structures controlled de jure by the NANA people.

The first of these structures, and the one which gives this development case its most distinctive qualities, is the NANA Corporation, one of the twelve Native regional profit corporations established by the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA). NANA Corporation exercises the leading role in the rural development strategy by using its share of the land and cash terms of ANCSA to systematically build a regional economic-occupational structure. The second structure, Mauneluk Inc., is the non-profit regional Native organization responsible for providing human services in such areas as health, subsistence economics, vocational training, and adult education. It is also Mauneluk's responsibility to carry out community surveys and institutional coordination upon which the overall regional strategy is based. The third organization that is part of the strategy, the Northwest Arctic School District, operates the region's formal school system according to Alaska State regulations and under the immediate supervision of a locally elected Inupiat Regional School Board. It is the role of the school district to organize the factors of formal education in ways that are consistent with the evolving cultural life of the community and with projected employment requirements of the developing economic-occupational structures of the region.

To explain the context in which NANA's approach has developed, discussion is required of: (1) relevant development strategies; (2) major conditions influencing Alsaka Native development; (3) NANA as a special case of rural development; and (4) some nonformal educational consequences of the NANA corporate approach.

DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES: A Conceptual Statement

The issues and conditions which frame the NANA regional strategy suggest certain parallels with those found in many Third World political economies.

Foremost among these parallels is that, early on, the NANA regional leadership formulated a basic philosophical position involving fundamental questions of ethics and morality as well as of techniques and technology. At the very heart of choosing an overall development approach under conditions of rapid social change are the a priori questions: what kind of society do we wish to build? and what human costs are we willing to bear in its construction? (Berger, et al. 1974; Nyerere, 1969; Goulet, 1975). The institutional goals, management styles, and community participation structures encouraged by the regional leadership are anchored to critical assumptions they have made about what kinds of development and change are most desirable for NANA communities.

The parallel continues in that, like Alaska Native leadership generally, the NANA regional leadership faced a choice between two development approaches. The first is that of economic development which maximizes corporate income. This position holds that: (1) increased rates of "economic growth," through capitalization of human and material resources, is the key to development; (2) as capital formation proceeds through growth of such aggregate economic indices such as GNP, per capita income or, in reference to the Alaska Native situation, corporate earnings and assets, the entire community will benefit through a "trickle-down" effect; (3) the model against which one measures progress in economic growth is urban-industrial society; and (4) if some segment of the developing community resists assimilation to new life styles, then this "cultural deficiency" must be overcome before there can be "take-off" to sustained economic growth (Rostow, 1960; Inkeles and Smith, 1974).

Realizing that the above approach would probably aggravate rather than relieve already dislocating cultural and psychological consequences of social change in the region, the NANA leadership opted for an alternative approach.

It is the use of the alternative approach, a "human resources" approach, which identifies NANA as a special case of development.

The concept of human resource development originated with the work of the late Frederick Harbison. He suggested that the development of human resources, not material resources, should be the dominant strategy. He defines human resources as the "energies, skills, talent, and knowledge of people which are, or which can or should be, applied to the production of goods or the rendering of useful services." Harbison further commented:

> Human resources--not capital, nor income, nor natural resources--constitute the ultimate basis for the wealth of nations. Capital and natural resources are passive factors of production; human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build social, political, and economic organizations, and carry forward . . . development (Harbison, 1973, p. 3).

Elaborating on Harbison's thesis, the human resource approach identified in this case study proposes that there are a number of development dimensions equal in importance to capital formation: stable and productive employment structures, health and nutrition services, equitable justice and security systems, access to education that enhances power and self-esteem, and ecologically sound resource use (Gaffney, 1977).

As indigenous, culturally different minority groups living in sparsely populated areas of an industralized society, Alaska Native people must contend with unique conditions imposed by their environments, histories, and the immediate political economies of Alaska and the United States. Nevertheless, whether applied to politically sovereign Third World Nations or to Native corporate efforts in rural Alaska, the human resources approach embodies the development goal of building enduring economic-occupational structures which promote self-sufficiency in the face of pressures toward greater external social and economic dependency relationships. Indeed, Native corporate

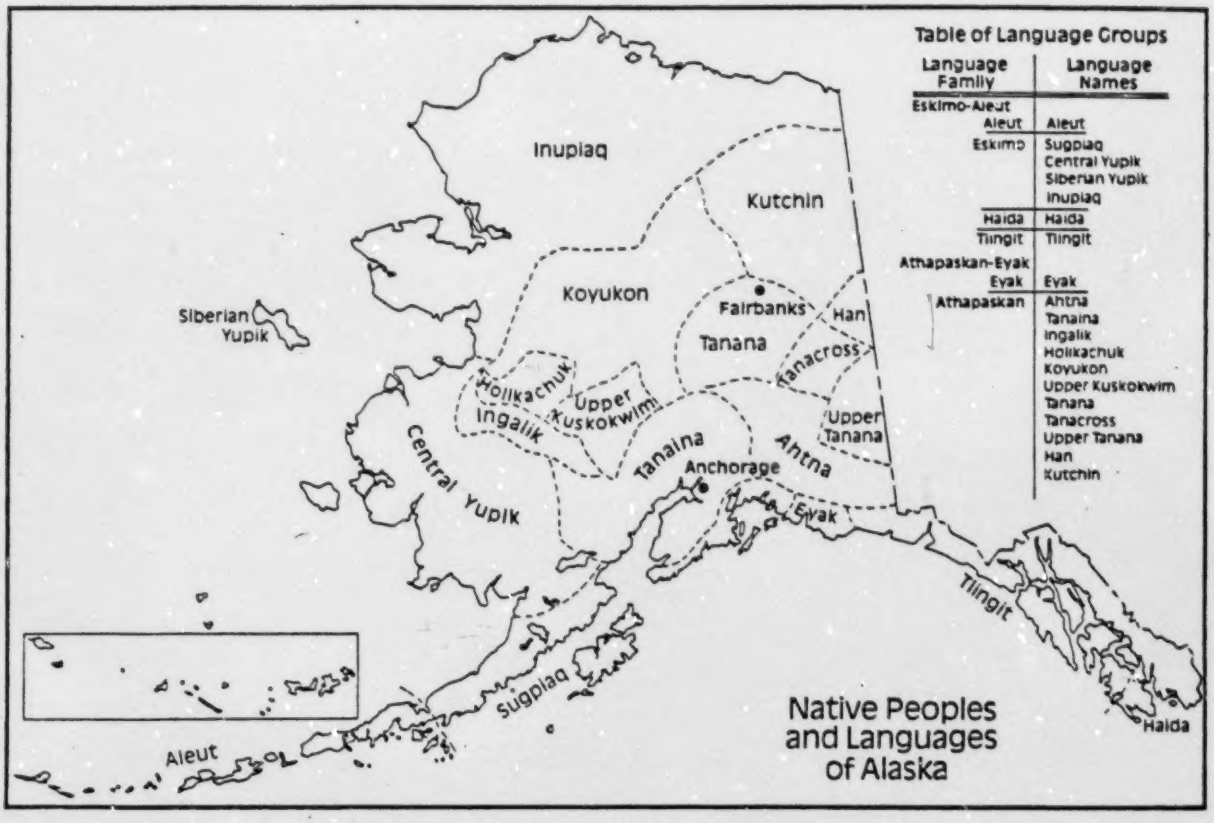
survival within the larger political economy dictates use of land and money resources for income-maximization. As will be shown, however, NANA Corporation's alternative use of the multi-dimensional human resources approach to manage social change has not prohibited reasonable levels of profits in the conventional corporate sense.

ALASKA NATIVE RURAL DEVELOPMENT: Scope and Context

Rural Alaska is where approximately seventy-seven percent of the State's Native citizens live in villages consisting of 25 to 3,000 residents, the greatest number of whom support themselves mainly by mixing subsistence hunting and fishing activities with cash income employment. Moreover, with few exceptions, Native people are the majority population in rural Alaska and, as a consequence, are able to exercise political power consonant with their numbers for purposes of self-determined local development and, as a statewide rural voting bloc, for purposes of greater statewide political leverage in the legislature. In this paper, therefore, "rural Alaska" and "Native Alaska" are viewed as synonymous and used interchangeably.

The significance of the term, Alaska Native, lies in its development as a political-legal concept, and not as a sociological or anthropological concept. Culturally or linguistically, there is no such human organization as Alaska Native. There are, however, approximately 60,000 living descendents of the original peoples of Alaska who may be considered to form three broad ethnic groups: Eskimo, Aleut, and Indian. Yet even these ethnic divisions do not accurately capture the diversity of cultural-linguistic traditions nor the varieties of subsistence resource uses practiced within these categorical groups. The different Native culture areas and geographical locations are summarized in Map 1. Although the concept Alaska Native glosses the variety

Map 1



of indigenous human organizations, its popular usage by Natives and non-Natives alike signifies more than mere verbal shorthand. What the concept functionally connotes is the existence of major commonalities in Native political realities and interests which, vis-a-vis the larger non-Native society, transcend cultural and linguistic diversity.

While the term, Alaska Native, was historically forged as a culturally myopic legal concept, considerable threats to the aboriginal land rights of all Native groups (principally posed by the 1958 Statehood Act which granted to the new state of Alaska the right to select 103 million acres) resulted in vigorous efforts by Native activitists to politicize the concept. This politicization process functioned to establish a common political identity as an "Alaska Native" and provided a common symbolic and ideological basis for

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the statewide political mobilization of Native communities over the issue of Native land claims in the 1960s (McBeath and Morehouse, 1980).

After a decade of political organizing and maneuvering at both State and National levels, this Native land claims movement effectively achieved what is perhaps the most comprehensive legal settlement of aboriginal claims to land and its resources yet witnessed--the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of December 18, 1971. It is not unwarranted to suggest that only the national independence gained by Third World peoples goes farther toward the potential achievement of indigenous political, economic, and cultural self-determination.

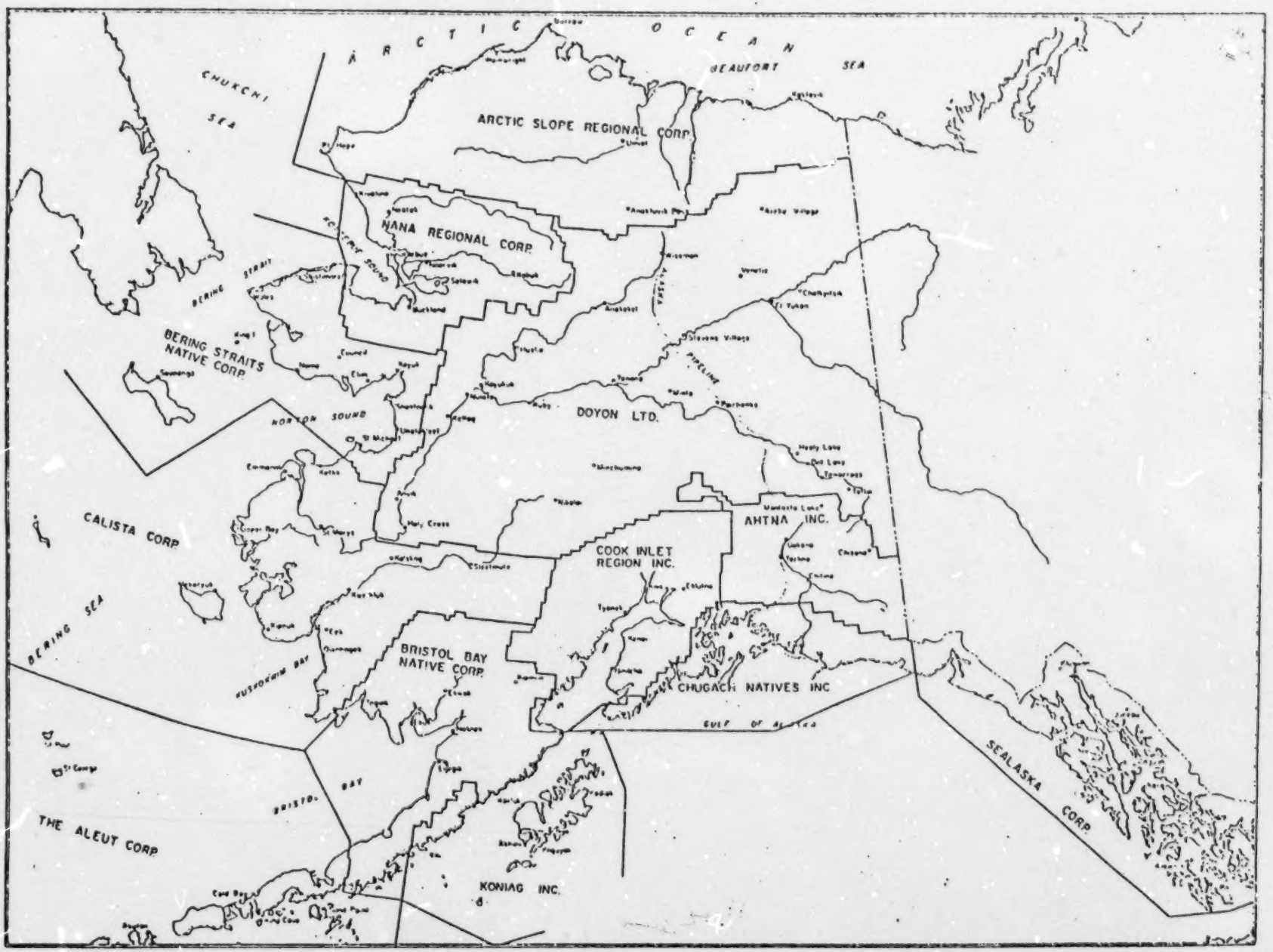
As with any historically significant legislation, ANCSA is the product of a complex series of political negotiations worked out among special interest groups: the Alaska Native community represented by the Alaska Federation of Natives, varieties of national viewpoints represented in the American Congress, local interests at the State level, and the very specific interest of the multi-national petroleum industry in the legal disposition of Alaska's lands (Beery, 1975). It is therefore not surprising that the end result was a document containing much vague and complex language which, to this day, continues to generate political and legal conflict, both among the different Native corporate organizations established by the Act and between these organizations and the federal and state governments.

The key provisions of ANCSA conveyed to Alaska Natives 44 million acres of land to be selected by them from larger tracts of land withdrawn by the Secretary of the Interior from areas not previously owned by the federal government, the State, or private interests. In addition, just under 1 billion dollars was designated to be paid into the "Alaska Native Fund" according to a specified timeline. In return, of course, Alaska Natives gave

up legal right to any further pursuit of land claims based on the aboriginal use and occupancy concept.

To implement the Settlement Act, i.e., to receive and distribute both the money and the land among legally entitled Native claimants, provision was made for the establishment of twelve Native regional profit-making corporations. The geographical boundaries of these corporations approximate those of pre-ANCSA Native associations politically organized to serve areas populated by peoples sharing similar cultural styles and language (see Map 2). Within an area served by a regional corporation, there exist a number of Native villages which also incorporated as profit corporations. The village corporations, working in collaboration with the parent regional corporations, select 22 million of the allotted 44 million acres to which they are granted surface rights while the regional corporations retain subsurface rights. Of the remaining acreage, 16 million was selected by six regional corporations according to a "land lost" formula, with the balance designated for special categories.

Native corporations are obviously unlike other corporate enterprises by having received initial capital and land assets through federal legislation. They also are different in that stock cannot be voluntarily purchased or alienated. Upon enrollment in a Native corporation, the member stockholder receives 100 shares of common stock, the rights to which cannot be sold or transferred, except through inheritance to another Native, until 20 years after the enactment date. This provision cuts two ways. First, it affords the Native corporations twenty years of protection to carry out Native self-directed economic development without fear of takeover by powerful outside interests. Secondly, it locks shareholders to the fate of the corporation over this time period; that is, unlike the options available to a



MAP 2. The Twelve Alaska Regional Corporations

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conventional corporate shareholder, Native shareholders cannot "vote with their feet" until 1991.*

Along with the purpose of accomplishing a just settlement of Native land claims, ANCSA also has the tacit intention of providing Native communities with the instruments (corporate structures) and resources (money and land) for the exercise of power within the larger society. Indeed, as the largest land holders in Alaska outside of the federal and state governments, and as the possessors of extensive liquid assets for the exploitation of investment opportunities, Native corporations currently exercise considerable power within the Alaska political economy, both in rural and urban areas. Certainly, from the perspective of the income-maximizing economic growth model, this situation appears quite reasonable. However, the human resources approach, with its emphasis on the equitable distribution of 'quality of life' benefits based on the principles of self-determination and self-sufficiency, offers another perspective as exemplified by the NANA region.

THE SPECIAL CASE OF NANA DEVELOPMENT

The implications of the NANA corporate region as a special case of Alaska Native rural development amid a climate of rapid social change may be recast as two propositions. First, the NANA Corporation has resisted the press of the larger political economies for conventional corporate income-maximization

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*Importantly, both dimensions of the 1991 date recently have been amended by the U.S. Congress. The law now allows that after 1991: (a) Native Corporations, if the majority of the shareholders agree, have "first option" to buy Native stock, and any stock which actually becomes alienated to non-Natives is not votable; and (b) undeveloped Native lands shall be subject to taxation, not twenty years from December 18, 1971, but from the time of the actual conveyance of land to the corporations by the federal government and, if desired, these lands may be tax sheltered through the concept of a "land bank." (Significantly, as of the end of 1980, only some 16 million of the 44 million acres had been fully conveyed.)

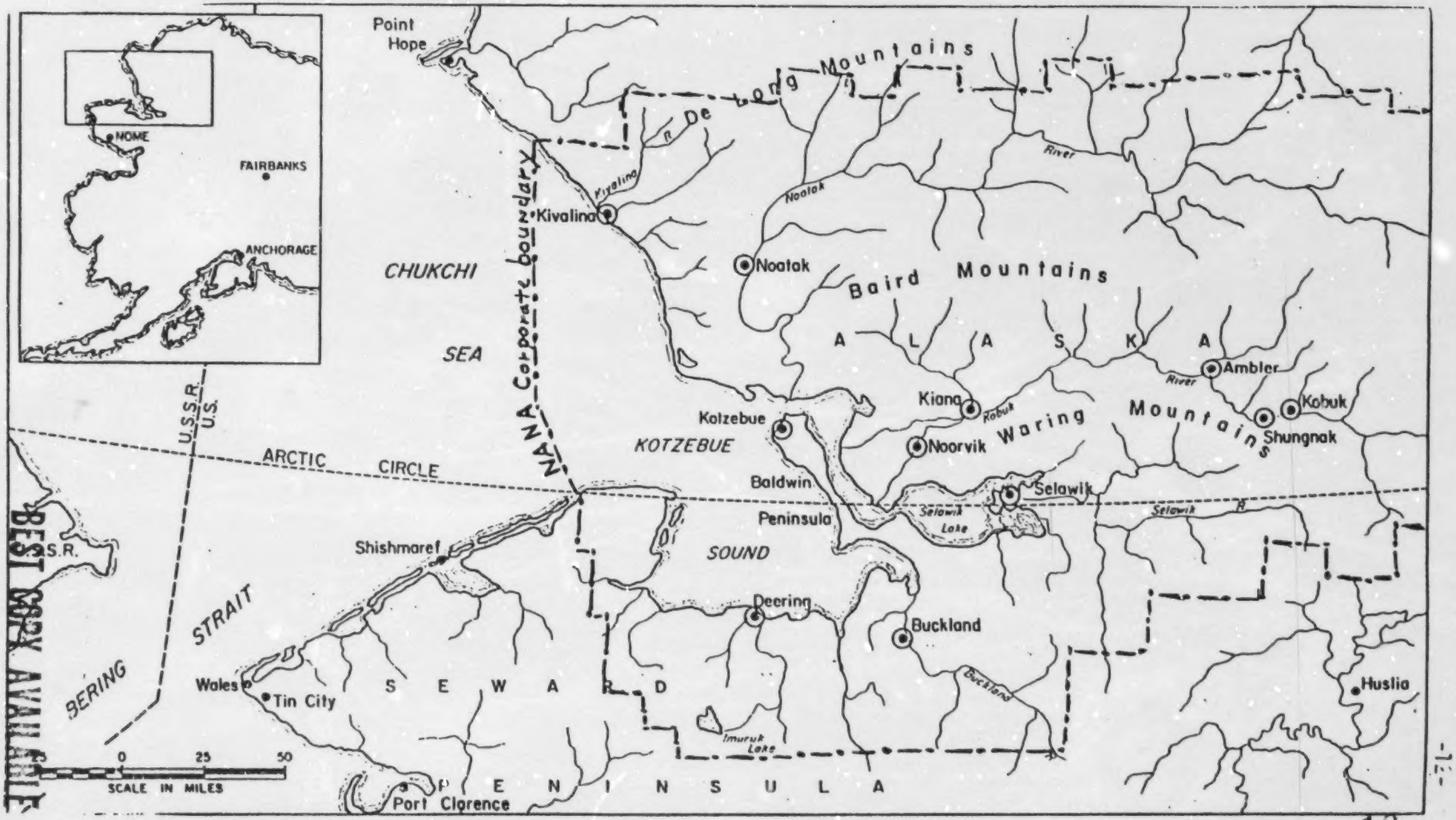
and adopted significant elements of the human resources approach to development. Secondly, in pursuit of a comprehensive regional development strategy, the NANA people and their leadership have achieved operational links between the production-investment functions of the Native profit corporation and the manifest human services functions of the Native non-profit association and of the regional school district.

In setting forth these two propositions, the intention is to single out from the varieties of Alaska Native development efforts the NANA case as most illustrative of the human resources approach at this time. Certainly what is not intended is a final and complete statement on the nature of Alaska Native development. Nor are these propositions intended to imply an "either/or" premise to undertaking Native development. The very diversity of conditions under which each of the different Native corporate regions must operate obviously means a diversity of development approaches. As shall be noted, in fair part the "specialness" of the NANA case may be accounted for by certain special conditions not present in other Native corporate regions.

The NANA Region. The Northwest Arctic region of Alaska is the ethno-linguistic homeland of approximately 4,500 Inupiat Eskimo people who live in eleven villages, the populations of which range from 2,500 in Kotzebue, the region's trading center, to 60 at the inland riverine village of Kobuk. The NANA corporate boundaries established under ANCSA include all eleven villages, and comprise an area of 36,000 square miles (see Map 3). No road or rail system connects this sparsely populated region with other parts of Alaska, nor are there road or rail systems connecting the villages with each other. The region's arctic climate has just three ice-free months a year, light precipitation, and winter temperatures averaging below 0° F along the coast and -20° F inland from the sea.

Map 3

THE NANA REGION



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The traditional economic basis of existence among NANA people is hunting, fishing, and gathering. Today this subsistence life style is augmented substantially by a cash economy consisting mainly of seasonal wage employment and government assistance payment.* Surface natural resources most significant to the subsistence economy are caribou and fish, with moose, seal, whale and small land animals playing subordinate roles. Importantly, in recent years commercial salmon fishing in Kotzebue Sound has become a major part of the region's cash economy. Subsurface, nonrenewable resources having greatest potential for commercial exploitation appear to be copper, lead, zinc, gem quality jade, and silver. Coal deposits and the surface resource of timber offer some promise as region-specific, energy-producing enterprises, with timber also having possibilities as a regional source of construction material.

The NANA Regional Profit Corporation. As its share of the cash and land distribution provisions of ANCSA, it is estimated that, upon final accounting, the NANA Corporation shall have received approximately 59.5 million dollars and title to 1.9 million acres of both surface and subsurface estates, with rights to an additional 365,000 acres of subsurface only estate. At the end of 1980, NANA received approximately 42 million dollars of its allotted ANCSA cash settlement, with the balance to be received by the end of 1982 (NANA Annual Report, 1979). When Fee-Simple title to all selected lands is actually conveyed, the NANA Corporation and its villages shall own the great bulk of the coastline and significant segments of the river systems within their corporate region.

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*The data source for this discussion and Map No. 3 on p. 12 is: The NANA Region: Its Resources and Development Potential, Mauneluk Association, 1974.

While NANA people must share land-ownership with the Federal and State govenments within their corporate boundaries, the purposeful selection of coastal and riverine lands allows control of access, and thus assurance of involvement in future developments on those Federal and State lands in the area. Also, the fact that federal lands have been designated as National Parks, Forests, Monuments, Wildlife Refuges, and Wild and Scenic River systems adds a measure of environmental protection for the region's traditional life style if the regulations governing these lands allow for continued subsistence use.

The NANA Corporation's efforts to manage the impacts of social change through the human resources approach are reflected principally in three development orientations: priority corporate goal of subsistence protection; localization of production-investment functions for regional economic self-sufficiency; and a quasi-government "constituency" approach to management.

The basic philosophy of the NANA corporate approach is expressed in both the language and priorites of the original goals established by its board of directors. Foremost are the tandem goals of "instilling pride and confidence in the shareholders and Natives of the NANA region," and to "preserve and protect the resources essential for continued subsistence living." In reviewing the specific objectives listed under these goals, the emphasis is on sustaining the connection between cultural heritage and land-use, fostering local employment opportunities, and on the development of shareholder participant structures which encourage solidarity and involvement. Following these goals is that of, "Capital must be preserved and developed for the future benefit of shareholders," but with the qualifier that, "investment of capital resources should consider increased employment and career development"

(Schaeffer, 1980). In the 1979 NANA Annual Report, Robert Newlin, Chairman of the Board of Directors, re-affirms the essence of the original goals:

> . . . our greatest challenges and our greatest needs, now and for the future, are the protection of our subsistence rights and the preservation of our cultural heritage. The continued use of our natural resources is necessary to our economic and physical well being and to the survival of our culture. Without adequate subsistence rights, we would be dependent on government programs to meet our physical needs. But, government programs cannot meet our cultural needs. Our traditions are centered on subsistence as a way of life; and it is essential that laws and regulations be passed that protect our subsistence life style.

If the written goals neatly fall within the human resource development framework, the question then becomes: Are the principles they espouse reflected in actual production and investment functioning? Analysis of NANA corporate activity according to the remaining human resource development orientations suggests an affirmative answer.

Earlier it was stated that fundamental to the human resources approach is the development of an enduring economic occupational structure which promotes self-sufficiency and which is consonant with ecological constraints and evolving cultural life. In line with this precept, NANA corporate functioning shows a consistently maintained balance between profit-making statewide operations and less solvent regional operations--this is, between profitable de-localization of capital resources and non-profitable, but human resource-oriented, localization of capital resources. Data illustrating this balance as of 1979 are contained in Tables 1 and 2 below. In addition to the balance between statewide and regional operations, these data are instructive from several other angles of the human resource development perspective.

Notably, NANA made an overall profit in 1979 of $635,932, an increase of $151,705 over the previous year. Clearly, then, revenues from the statewide operations are buying time for the regional operations to financially sort

Table 1

NANA Statewide Operations

	Revenue	Expenses	Divisional Profit (Loss)
NANA Construction	$12,454,520	11,749,636	704,884
NANA Environmental Systems	5,837,937	5,711,029	126,908
NANA Oilfield Services	4,207,453	3,716,808	490,645
Purcell Services	3,188,429	2,666,861	521,568
Arctic Utilities	834,815	422,377	412,438
NDC/Commercial Catering	551,496	537,187	14,309
Great Northern Express	80,684	73,487	7,197
NANA Jade Marketing	6,209	15,250	(9,041)
NANA Joint Ventures	185,634	---	185,634
	$27,347,177	24,892,635	2,454,542

Table 2

NANA REGIONAL OPERATIONS

	Revenue	Expenses	Divisional Profit (Loss)
Fuel Projects	$ 298,815	300,326	(1,511)
Building and Maintenance	20,092	75,801	(55,709)
Drift Inn Apartments	80,480	126,800	(46,320)
Jade Mountain Products	56,421	52,786	3,635
Kiana Hotel	2,218	20,169	(17,951)
Kivalina Housing	2,700	10,308	(7,608)
Nul-Luk-Vik Hotel	1,256,239	1,622,310	(366,071)
Tupik Building Supply	730,703	848,431	(117,728)
Museum of the Arctic	148,914	214,703	(65,789)
Qungniq	10,451	249,839	(239,388)
	$2,607,033	3,521,473	(914,440)

Source: NANA Annual Report, 1979.

themselves out within the uncertainties characteristic of any developing rural economic milieu. Not only has NANA been able to sustain a localization of capital resources effort and still remain one of the few Native regional corporations showing any consistent profit, but also they continue to take sharp losses in those regional enterprises they think eventually have a chance to decrease the region's dependency on external economic forces and government assistance payments.

Aside from fuel projects, construction enterprises, and tourist-oriented facilities (corporate activities which directly contribute to a developing regional economic-occupational structure by localizing capital and being labor intensive) perhaps the best example of NANA's concern for long-term self-sufficiency at the expense of short-term profits is their persistent effort in reindeer herding (Qungnig). One of the very first regional operations NANA engaged in was the development of reindeer herding for commercial purposes. From the onset, this enterprise has been both financially and managerially frustrating. Nevertheless, the promise of ultimate success can potentially mean significant decrease in the region's dependency on costly external sources of protein. Successful reindeer herding also can mean an alternate internal source of protein to supplement subsistence hunting, particularly in lean years when there occurs minimal caribou harvesting. At the end of 1980 this regional venture was almost to the breakeven point financially. Moreover, NANA recently has taken over the financially troubled Kotzebue Sound Fishermen's Cooperative. Working with the Kotzebue Village Corporation the objective is to provide a stable buying and processing system which will make the summer salmon harvest more profitable for local fishermen and allow for development of other kinds of commercial fishing in the region. During the 1981 summer season this venture provided

short-term employment for 178 people in the processing plant alone. And by offering a price above the market value, other buyers of Kotzebue Sound salmon were forced to raise their prices--all to the benefit of local fishermen.

The third unique feature of NANA's human resources approach has been the conscious attempt of the leadership to view the corporation as performing predominantly quasi-government functions in the region. The essential premise for NANA's localization of capital resources is that regional development is not synonymous with corporate growth and, therefore, the corporate membership are to be treated as regional 'constituents' in the public service sense as opposed to simply stockholders in the corporate sense. Pointedly, in the initial formulation of the NANA regional development strategy, John Schaeffer, NANA president, publicly stated that, "three organizations fill in where regional government usually works--NANA, Mauneluk, and the Northwest Arctic School District" (Mauneluk Report, December, 1978). Indeed, when added together as a total developing structure, the economic functions of the NANA Corporation, the human and social service functions of Mauneluk, and the formal education functions of the regional school district conform to the multiplicity of functions regularly associated with legally established regional government, e.g., a Borough, County, or Parish.

NANA's "constituency" approach to rural development is further reflected in the continual performance of an "advocacy function" which speaks to both economic and extra-economic conditions of the regional community, and in the very nature of its management style (elaborated upon later as to its consequences for the nonformal education of the corporate membership). The advocacy function as a self-perceived corporate imperative arises mainly from the social change impacts state and national political economies have on rural Native life. In very direct ways, state and national land-use and resource

development policies in and around the NANA region, including the Outer-Continental-Shelf, can have significant impact on a subsistence-based rural life. Consequently, the NANA shareholder constituency expects their corporation's officials, along with their elected representatives in the formal political domain, to forcefully act in whatever ways will favorably shape social realities in the region. The very first sentence of the NANA President's annual message to shareholders in 1974 is ". . . protecting the natural resources of our region from those who would build roads or regulate resource use to our detriment has occupied many hours of our time" (NANA Annual Report, 1974).

One prime example of NANA advocacy is the considerable attention it gave in recent years to the Native lobbying effort on the Alaska Lands (D-2) legislation in the American Congress. Beyond ordinary expectations, its management included within its corporate responsibilities the expenditure of time and energy working with the Alaska Federation of Natives on this legislation at the national level. At stake were critical amendments to original provisions of ANCSA and legal prescriptions for Native subsistence use of Federal lands in Alaska. Final passage of this legislation favoring statewide Native interests was due in some measure to NANA Corporation's unconventional view of itself, and to its capacity to functionally translate this view along broader human resource development dimensions.

The NANA Regional Strategy. The development premises which form the essence of the NANA regional strategy have been articulated by John Shively, Vice-President for Operations, NANA Development Corporation. He suggests that ". . . the question of development in Alaska needs to be attacked from two perspectives: (1) the relationship between federal, state and local policy as it relates to development, and (2) the relationship between economic

development in Alaska and human resource development and education" (Darnell, 1980, p. 31-32). Working from these premises, the NANA regional strategy may be defined operationally as the planned process which organizes the quasi-governmental functions of the region's dominant Native-directed institutions into a single, coordinated effort of social change management. According to the NANA formulation, then, effective management of social change requires regionwide institutional solidarity for the purposes of (a) providing a power base united in its representation of Native local development policy vis-a-vis the larger political economy (i.e., self-determination), and (b) for providing clear direction to interconnected social, economic and education development processes.

The need for institutional solidarity as a mechanism for self-determination comes from continued conflict between Native interests and the land-use and resource development policies of the larger political economy. As discussed earlier, the proximity of non-Native owned lands in and around the NANA corporate region requires constant vigilance from the NANA leadership. Institutional solidarity also derives directly from the historic consequences of many government social and economic development policies on the NANA community. In numerous cases, government programs have, at best, achieved no significant results and, at worst, have had the unintended consequences of increasing people's dependency upon costly external economic resources--a condition which, paralleling many Third World situations, has strengthened rather than lessened the dependency-poverty syndrome in the NANA region.

The example most often cited by NANA leadership of the dependency-poverty syndrome at work in their region is the consequences of government housing programs. In his 1980 OECD presentation, John Shively explained the

situation. Very significantly, he shows how the syndrome completes itself with a dramatic shift in NANA corporate development policy which, in turn, has considerable implications for the future of the subsistence life style in the NANA region:

> NANA's highest land priority has been protection of the subsistence economy. The native culture is tied to the land and the ability to live off it. Because of this NANA shareholders, for the past several years, have rejected corporate participation in mining ventures. This year that position was completely reversed. There was an overwhelming vote, eighty to ninety percent, that declared the people wanted NANA to look at mining. There is no question that mining will not assist the people in retaining a subsistence life style. How can this change be explained? The new policy voted by the native shareholders goes back to a government policy that the rural residents of the area should have new houses. Government personnel declared the people had poor housing; we should do something about it. What they neglected to tie to this observation was that the people have poor housing because they are poor. You don't make them richer because you give them a house with payments and stoves, refrigerators, and oil furnaces which result in higher utility bills. You make them poorer. People see the houses as something desirable, but with increased energy costs they cannot afford to live in them without a job. Thus, mining becomes very important. It probably is the only major development that can take place that will allow people to work in the region they are from (Darnell, 1980, p. 33).

In order to determine just what development policies might be pursued by the institutional organizers of the NANA regional strategy, a comprehensive planning process was undertaken in 1978 and 1979. Mauneluk Association, in cooperation with the Alaska Public Forum, Office of the Governor, took the issue of development policy to all eleven villages of the NANA region. The purpose of this planning strategy was the identification and development of regional goals and objectives through comprehensive involvement of the constituency. The process consisted of a program of survey research followed by a series of community workshops in all villages. The survey research gathered base-line information on people's attitudes and activities in the

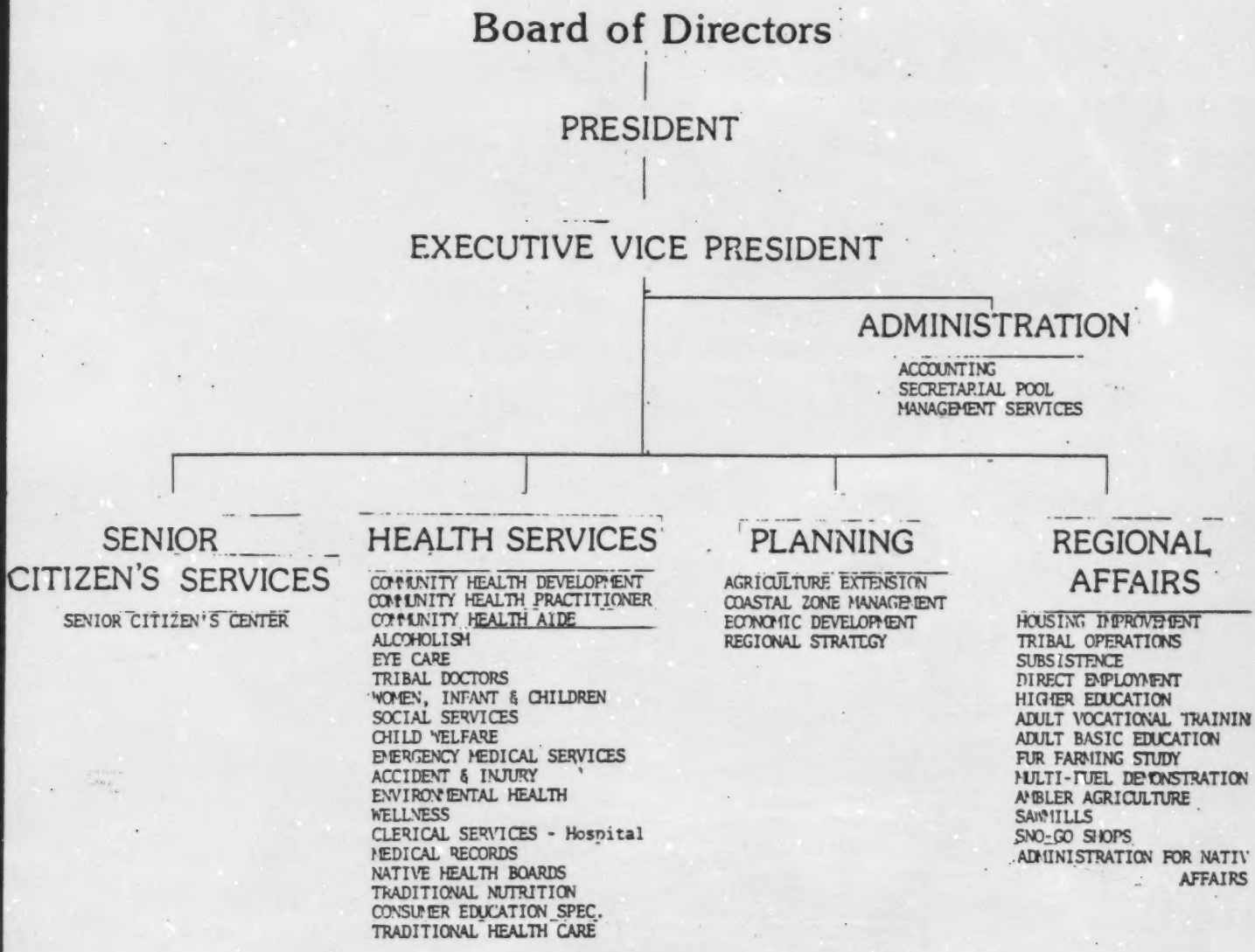
area of subsistence, employment, transportation, housing, and education. The follow-up community workshops were designed to report the survey results back to the communities and to initiate village discussions on priorities for regional development policy and cost benefit analyses of such policy priorities (NANA Regional Strategy, 1979 Report).

Within the region the responsibility for coordinating the planning process and administering much of its activities rested with the second institutional driver of the regional development strategy which is Mauneluk Association, the regional Native non-profit corporation. In addition to its administrative role in the regional planning strategy, Mauneluk's quasi-governmental functions are manifested in the realm of human services. Under federal statutes governing American Indian Affairs, Alaska Native regional non-profit organizations are recognized as the functional equivalent of legally constituted lower-48 "tribal organizations," and thus eligible for a variety of federal Indian funds. Moreover, in accord with the 1978 Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act, Alaska Native non-profit organizations are also eligible to apply for the direct administrative takeover of existing federal Indian programs and services historically under the control of such agencies as the U.S. Indian Health Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. As a result of this special legal status and its regionwide Native service domain, Mauneluk currently receives each year millions of dollars in government funds to operate programs in the areas of education, health, social services, and community planning and development. The range and depth of Mauneluk's activities are displayed in Table 3.

A summary of the planning strategy's reported outcomes to date show a repeated emphasis on "the desire of individuals, families, and villages to pursue both subsistence and cash economy activities." The report further

Table 3

MAUNELUK ASSOCIATION



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notes that while many of the goals revealed by the study "would apply to most people anywhere in the world, there was one that wouldn't--that is the desire and the need the NANA people express about continuing their traditional subsistence activities." The study indicates that ninety percent of the people view subsistence as their main source of meat, and seventy percent have subsistence foods accounting "for more than half of all their meals." The data also reaffirm the critical notion that subsistence "is far more than pure economic necessity--it is the basis of Inupiat cultural heritage and tradition." Furthermore, the study finds that NANA constituents perceive jobs as "increasingly important to pay for basic goods and services . . . [but] . . . to meet these needs, planning for government programs and development projects must be presented in a manner that allows clear identification of choices and ample time for adequate public involvement" (NANA Regional Strategy, 1979 Report).

Finally, in keeping with the overall development strategy's concept of self-determination through regionwide institutional solidarity, the Report has this to say:

> The NANA people have taken this first step toward creating a regional planning strategy. Government agencies and private entities that seek to develop programs and projects in the region should note that residents continually stressed local control over local developments. When new facilities and services are planned, community support and ability to pay for operation and maintenance costs are critical to success . . . . Taken together, these reports can provide valuable guidance for NANA residents as well as [for] those who will effect change from the outside (NANA Regional Strategy, 1979 Report, p. 4).

NANA Educational Development. The third institutional force in the regional development strategy is the Northwest Arctic School District. In 1975, the Alaska State legislature, in response to public sentiment and emerging Native political power on behalf of greater local control of

education, divided one large State-Operated School System for the "unorganized Borough" of Rural Alaska into twenty-one Regional Educational Attendance Areas (REAAs), thereby ending seventy years of centrally controlled territorial and State administration of Native education. As one of the REAAs, the Northwest Arctic School District (NWASD) is governed by a regionally elected school board that employs a superintendent as chief administrator, determines fiscal procedures, and exercises control over the employment of all school district personnel.

In important respects REAAs resemble the autonomy associated with American school districts generally. But as Darnell points out, they are "extraordinary units of government," not only for the unique physical and cultural conditions under which they operate, but also because they are neither cities nor boroughs and, consequently, there is no provision for their existence ". . . in either the Alaskan constitution or in statutes defining local and intermediate government." Upon specifying the legal constraints to REAA authority which contribute to their "anomalous nature" and "questionable legal foundation," Darnell concludes that real control of Native education by Native people remains problematic: "because REAAs have less authority than ordinary school districts they may be said to be agencies empowered more to manage than control" (1979, p. 443-444).

Almost simultaneously with the establishment of the REAAs was another legal event which further changed the nature of Native education in rural Alaska. Whereas primary school programs and facilities operated by federal and state agencies have long been a standard fixture in rural Native communities, secondary education has not. For the past thirty years, secondary school Native youth have received their post-primary education in boarding institutions or at municipal secondary schools in Alaska's urban centers

through boarding home programs. In 1976, suit was brought against the State of Alaska (Tobeluk v. Lind) by a secondary school student from a Central Yupik village in Southwest Alaska. The suit charged that the lack of secondary school programs in the home communities of rural Native students was depriving them of equal educational opportunity. Moreover, since the predominantly non-Native communities of Alaska were provided state-funded secondary programs, the issue of racial discrimination was strongly implied. The result was an out-of-court settlement in the form of a Consent Decree requiring state-funded and -maintained secondary programs in approximately 100 Native villages.

In two major ways, then, the NWASD is a very recent structural creation which has radically changed the nature of formal educational services to the NANA region. Notwithstanding the lingering issue of its plenary authority as an REAA, it is now the institution directly responsible for education in the region. Just six years into the learning process of being a local educational authority, it is also charged with the effective implementation of another quite recent and radical departure from the past: small high school programs for nine of its ten outlying villages.

Currently NWASD serves 716 primary school students (grades 1-8) and 703 secondary school students. Its regionwide school-based professional staff of principals and teachers numbers approximately 150, and its central office in Kotzebue consists of superintendency functions along with programs in special education, bilingual/bicultural curriculum development, community education, and media services. It is within this framework of an emerging structure that NWASD carries out its role in the NANA regional development strategy: the organization of the factors of formal education in ways that are consistent

with the evolving cultural life and economic-occupational structure of the region.

In more specific terms, NWASD is charged with developing a regional school system which provides students with a sound basic education to serve as a foundation for whatever life style they ultimately choose. Very significantly a major goal arising from the regional planning survey was to "maintain freedom of choice in life style--whether subsistence, cash economy, or both" (Report, 1979, p. 7). The educational data of the survey support this goal:

> NANA residents strongly supported local job training in the employment section. But they show an even higher commitment to the teaching of the basics--math, English, writing, reading, history, etc., when asked "What high school courses would you like your children to study?" More than half the respondents chose that response as compared to fourteen percent for trades, eleven percent for cultural, six percent for domestic/human services, eight percent for office work, and five percent for professional. Seventy-five percent answered that they would attend adult education classes if offered in their community (p. 11).

Although a culturally different minority group living in a remote, sparsely populated area, it appears that NANA constituents want NWASD to offer a strong academic program, but one that is responsive to the cultural and economic opportunity structure of the region. There is a felt need for a strong cultural heritage component to NANA education evidenced in substantial bilingual/bicultural curriculum development carried out by the school district. But "cultural relevance" is not viewed as an either/or proposition; nor is development--including educational development--perceived according to a linear theory of social change positing traditional culture against urban-industrial culture with no possibilities in between. What the NANA regional development strategy seems to suggest is a "cross-cultural" approach to education.

One illustration of NWASD's cross-cultural approach to education is their proposal for the establishment of Institute Arctica which is described as "a cross-cultural leadership development program for rural Alaska youth." What is sought is a ten-month residential school for selected NANA secondary students outside the typical routines and functions of the formal education system. The leadership program would operate as a self-contained institution with emphases on Inupiat heritage, including language development and subsistence skills; cross-cultural issues in the areas of politics, economics, community organization and communications; and in applied leadership skill development for cross-cultural settings. What is informative about this concept is its recognition of: (1) that the increasingly pluralistic conditions of Native life are placing inordinate demands on Native leadership because of the simultaneous role requirements of being makers and brokers of culture as well as being technically proficient institutional organizers; and (2) that by its very nature the formal school system does not easily lend itself to accomplishing extraordinary cross-cultural objectives, particularly when the rules governing the system are virtually beyond reach of its clients, and when ninety-five percent of the district's administrators and teachers are non-Native.

The issue of NANA leadership in big institutions is one of both kind and amount--of achieving considerable increases in the numbers of NANA people appropriately trained to assume high- and middle-level management positions. Indeed, the development of a cadre of postsecondary trained Native people who are both technically proficient and culturally competent is a vital issue within the larger Alaska Native community.

That this human resource bottleneck exists is hardly surprising. Comparable to the colonial experiences of many Third World societies, the

Alaskan Native experience historically included the school systems' "cooling out" of Native academic and professional aspirations in favor of vocational educational goals and village artisanship. Consider that only 200 Natives have been awarded Baccalaureate degrees from the University of Alaska during its fifty-year history. And like the Third World, the Alaskan Native community is finding the achievement of indigenously chosen social and economic goals to be very elusive when the colonial legacy persists through the importation of large numbers of non-Native professional, technical, and academic personnel. Indeed, the "Nativization" of its professional work force, through both formal and nonformal education, is as much a development goal of the Alaskan Native community as are, say, the "Africanization" programs of post-colonial Africa.

Moreover, nowhere in the ANCSA document is there provision for, or mention of, the kinds of trained Native manpower required for effective, self-determined implementation of the Act. The wide range of high-level manpower categories and occupational roles called for is well enumerated by others (Kleinfeld, 1973; Alaska Native Foundation, 1974). Suffice it to say here that the Native people who acquire requisite academic and technical proficiencies will occupy strategic decision-making positions affecting the total course of Native social and cultural and economic development. Their impact can spread throughout Native regional and village profit corporations, regional and tribal non-profit associations, statewide Native organizations, and the recently formed regional school districts. There is also a considerable need for trained Native manpower to occupy strategic positions within the public and private sectors of the larger political economy which obviously weigh upon Native development efforts.

In addition to ninety-five percent of NANA's professional educators being non-Native, significant portions of the management of NANA Corporation and Mauneluk Association are also non-Native. Through its status as a federally recognized tribal organization, Mauneluk is now the region's major distributor of government monies allocated for Native student assistance in postsecondary education. However, NANA Corporation is also directly addressing the postsecondary bottleneck in two ways. First, they award 8-10 scholarships each year to deserving NANA university students not funded by other sources. Currently, NANA Corporation is considering enlargement of this program for the purpose of awarding more comprehensive scholarships to those who have already proven their academic interests and talents by successful completion of two years of postsecondary education. Secondly, NANA Corporation has instituted a Summer internship program for their university students. Last Summer (1981), seventeen students were employed by NANA in jobs ranging from accounting to field surveyors in mineral resource assessment, both with their regional office in Kotzebue and with NANA Development Corporation in Anchorage. Along with continued immersion in the affairs of the corporation through on-the-job training, these interns periodically met as a group with corporate officers for discussion on a variety of topics. Evaluation of this program was strongly positive and it will likely become a permanent fixture of NANA operations.

It is important to understand that NANA does not view university training as a requirement for exercising leadership within the region. While post-secondary training and the proficiencies it supposedly produces are seen as critical to institutional effectiveness, "leadership" is thought of as having first and foremost a charismatic base. Consequently, much attention is given to establishing regional participant structures grounded in the traditional

ways of the community. For example, Village Elders Councils have considerable influence on regional development policy and, as will be elaborated below, the very nature of NANA's management style encourages active constituency participation, hence leadership opportunities, in regional affairs. In sum, the concern is that regional leadership be a function of charisma based primarily in broader cultural dynamics and secondarily in bureaucratic organizations.

Another aspect of the cross-cultural approach is reflected in the school district's attempt to expand the scope of educational possibilities for different life styles to NANA people within the region. The idea here is that along with providing basic education at the primary and secondary levels, the school district also sees as part of its quasi-governmental role the organization of other forms of educational opportunity directly related to the region's employment structure. The expanded role of the school district is shaped directly by the regional strategy concept in two respects.

First, expanded educational opportunity conforms with the expressed goal of maintaining freedom of choice in life style as reported by the planning surveys. As the formally prescribed regional educational institution, it logically follows that it also be responsible for the provision of regional technical and vocational training.

NANA Corporation has always had as one of its top priorities the employment of shareholders within both its regional and its statewide enterprises. Currently, 77 percent of the regional corporate employment structure is occupied by shareholders, whereas that figure for statewide operations is only 10 percent, although rising to 30 percent during peak employment periods. NANA's goal has been to achieve a continuous and total shareholder hire rate

of 40 percent and a minority hire rate of 60 percent.* NANA leadership is also concerned with the fact that during last fiscal year only 30 percent of their $7 million payroll went to shareholders. When viewed next to the shareholder hire rate, the 30 percent share of payroll figure confirms that many of the highest paying professional, technical, and management positions generated by NANA economic activity are not occupied by NANA residents. And obviously these well paid positions require postsecondary training or, in some cases, the functional equivalent in experience through nonformal, on-the-job training.

Together with greater shareholder hire in high- and middle-level positions, NANA also seeks a much better fit between its overall employment structure and the needs and capabilities of its shareholders. To this end, NANA has instituted a very flexible work schedule for shareholders employed in their oil field activities. Roustabouts, for example, work so many weeks and, upon notifying their supervisors, can take an extended leave of absence without fear of losing their job, rank, classification, etc. Although there may be some loss of work efficiency, this "revolving employment door" allows shareholders needed time back in their communities for family and subsistence economic activities.

While on-the-job training for shareholders occurs throughout NANA's operations, the Kotzebue Technical Center, a multi-million dollar facility, is scheduled to begin offering adult vocational and technical training courses in January of 1982. The operation of the center is the administrative responsi-

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*Source: personal communication from John Shively, Vice President for Operations, NANA Development Corporation. In keeping with its human resource approach, NANA also emphasises general minority hire (including women). In this regard, NANA has achieved a regional minority hire rate of 90 percent and a statewide rate of 52 percent.

bility of NWASD, and its curricula are designed to match the skill requirements of current and anticipated employment opportunities for NANA residents.

Secondly, in accord with the principle of self-determination, it is felt that NWASD should be the basic unit for the exercise of local control over the entire structure of educational services to the region. This last aspect has generated considerable controversy. Taking advantage of an arcane statute governing the original establishment of two-year community colleges by memorandum of agreement between a particular school district and the University of Alaska, NWASD recently sought takeover of the State University's fledgling community college in Kotzebue. They argued that the college's efforts to serve community needs had been unspectacular at best and, in fact, a statewide University system may be structurally incapable of meeting unique, locally determined rural needs. The other side argued issues of accreditation and the maintenance of quality education. As the institutions on both sides of the controversy are unable to negotiate a resolution, the college is temporarily closed and the question of control remains open.

Perhaps what is most significant and "special" about the NANA regional development strategy is the very fact of its existence. Prima facie, the three dominant development organizations of the region are chartered to attend to quite different orders of phenomenon. Nevertheless, they have come together to pursue one concerted development effort. This institutional solidarity in purpose and operation represents not only a rare achievement within the Alaska Native community, but also within the world of big institutions generally. However, what the future holds for NANA's regional human resource development strategy may rest on resolution of two fundamental issues lodged in the dynamics of severe social change.

The first issue has to do with the future of a subsistence-based life style in the face of a regional development policy encouraging mining activities. It will be recalled that the dependency-poverty syndrome has forced a turnabout in NANA policy from protection against mining to development of the mining industry as the basis for a regional employment structure. It is well documented that the extractive nature of metallic mining can portend harsh consequences for the environment and for the social organization of the people who provide its labor supply (if, in fact, the enterprise is labor intensive). This seems definitely the case under forms of colonialism whereby the labor supply is viewed simply as another resource to be extracted. To minimize these conditions will require a maintenance of power equity between the NANA community and the intruding industry, a requirement the NANA leadership certainly has under analysis.

The basis of NANA's power is its corporate ownership of the most likely access routes to and from potential mining sites as well as actual land ownership of some sites. Through exercise of this power base NANA will seek strong measures of environmental protection and provisions for unique kinds of labor force work schedules (*á la* the roustabout policy) which allow adequate time for village subsistence and family life. In short, given the increasing pressures of Alaskan demography on traditional subsistence resources, the increasing costs of daily life, and the attractiveness of mining as a stable, within-region employment source, NANA's movement to a full-fledged mixed economy has been conditionally determined. Now the important question is the extent to which the NANA regional development strategy can manage further social change through management of its new mixed economy.

The second critical issue facing the NANA region is the apparent massive alienation of adolescents and young adults. Despite the eloquence of the

regional strategy in rhetoric and structure, the NANA region shows one of the highest rates of attempted and accomplished suicides among youth in the Alaska Native community. Closely connected to this social fact is alcohol and drug abuse. More than any other segment of the population, the adolescent and young adult groups appear to be having the greatest difficulty "making sense" of the mixed messages flowing from the new social, cultural, and economic pluralism of Native society. Not only is this malaise having tragic consequences in individual and family terms, but the loss of human resource potential to Native institution-building is also of tragic proportion.

The results of this alienation can be seen by everybody, and most persons have a theory or notion as to its generic causes. What is much more elusive is a collective solution to a collective problem. That is, beyond conventional one-on-one treatment, are there strategies available which directly inspire timely changes in the ethos or spirit of a human collectivity such as Native youth? One such strategy is in its early stages. It is called the Inupiat Spirit Program and its originators are John Schaeffer, President of NANA, and Willie Hensley, President of the NANA Development Corporation. Significantly, the NANA Corporation Board of Directors has authorized Schaeffer and Hensley to spend more of their time on this effort and, consequently, less time on conventional corporate affairs. According to the November, 1981 NANA Regional Corporation Newsletter, The purpose of this program is to "reinstill in (NANA) people their cultural identity." The program includes:

> Incorporation of the important Inupiat values such as respect for elders, human respect, sharing and giving, respect for animals, and hard work. The preservation and teaching of the Inupiat Materials and Development Center in Kotzebue now in operation, the [Inupiat] language will be taught at each grade level in school. The arts and other cultural identification areas will also be stressed.

THE NANA CORPORATE APPROACH: Some Nonformal Educational Consequences

In earlier discussions delineating the special case features of the NANA regional profit corporation, attention was paid to the quasi-governmental role of the corporation and its "constituency" approach as opposed to the conventional stockholder approach to relations with the corporate membership. It was suggested that this constituency approach is reflected in the amount of effort the NANA corporate staff expends on fulfilling an advocacy function in economic and extra-economic arenas on behalf of the constituency. This section of the paper is devoted to another part of the NANA operational mode reflecting the constituency approach: the unique structure and functioning of its management style. This aspect of the NANA corporate approach is being singled out here in order to present some thoughts on possible nonformal educational consequences inherent in this management style.

Olsen and Tuck (1979) have analyzed ANCSA Native regional corporation management styles according to an open versus closed participatory decision-making model. They find the NANA management style to be the exemplar of the open decision-making type. By this they mean that both the events (i.e., board meetings) and the executive officers of the decision-making process are made more directly accessible to the corporate membership. They observe that "the pace of development in critical policy areas is controlled by the elders who have direct access to the president and chief executive officer" (p. 46). Working from the concept of the open participatory decision-making type, the characteristics of the NANA management style which illustrate its uniqueness and from which there may be nonformal education "spin-off" effects may be elaborated.

Constituency participation in those decision-making processes directly affecting their realities is a basic tenet of the human resources approach to

development. However, the NANA approach takes this tenet one step further in that the very process of its management style establishes participatory structures which encourage "active" rather than "passive" constituency involvement. Structurally, this is accomplished through the unconventional composition of its board of directors. Each village in the region is represented by two members on the board. Additionally, there are at-large members. The result is proportional representation simultaneously of constituent and corporate interests. Interestingly, although NANA is one of the smaller Native regions in terms of shareholder enrollment (4,900) its twenty-three member board is the largest corporate decision-making body. Furthermore, all board meetings are open to the general membership.

Functionally, active participant structures among the NANA constituency are promoted in two ways. First, annual shareholder meetings are rotated among the villages of the region. While Kotzebue, the regional center, has logistical advantages as a meeting place, NANA leadership has determined that administrative convenience must give way to the kinds of active constituent involvement which community settings encourage. Secondly, major policy decisions are viewed as a shareholder prerogative, not a board prerogative. For example, the issue of mining as NANA policy was decided by a vote of the shareholders before the fact, and not simply by a vote of the board.

There is, therefore, much more to the open participant style of NANA corporate management than the passive participant structure of accessibility. Also, the NANA style is more than forms of passive participation such as principal decision-makers keeping their "finger on the pulse of the community"--a process which can slip into self-deception very easily. The active participant structures achieved by NANA are based on bringing the decison-making apparatus to the community--by literally forcing it to work in the domain of

the community. Critical to this process is active constituent involvement in the first order of decision-making, that is, in the actual framing of the decision-making context itself. Clear examples of this framing process are the planning component of the regional strategy and the issue-specific participant structures established to deal with the mining issue.

Put another way, the NANA management style may be characterized as an "empowering process," and in this connection it may be seen to have latent, nonformal educational consequences. Kindervatter (1979) suggests that nonformal education be viewed as an "empowering process" in and of itself. She defines the concept, empowering, as:

> People gaining an understanding of and control over social, economic, and/or political forces in order to improve their standing in society (p. 13).

She states that nonformal education (NFE) is ordinarily thought of along the divisions proposed by Coombs (1976), all of which are to be distinguished from the bureaucratically regulated and grade sequenced formal education system (schooling). Coombs' divisions include "adult education," "continuing education," "farmer or worker training," "accelerated training," "on-the-job training," or "extension services" (p. 282). For Kindervatter, NFE as an empowering process "includes such divisions but with a new focus":

> Rather than promoting only the acquisition of information and skills, NFE as an empowering process emphasizes the utilization of these capabilities for collaborative problem solving . . . NFE as an empowering process is oriented toward influencing socio-economic structures and relationships through group action-taking (pp. 12-13).

For purposes of the special case presented here, the notion of NFE is stretched beyond the bounds of the divisions outlined by Coombs to include any process, manifest or latent, which functions to "empower" a group of people as this concept is defined by Kindervatter. The manifest purpose of NANA's open

decision-making style is active constituent involvement in the corporation's affairs; the latent or "spin-off" function of this style is the development of participant structures which, by the very nature of the communications networks and problem-solving processes they encourage, serve to empower the NANA constituency.

This paper can offer no "scientific proof" that in fact the NANA management style is having all the prescribed empowering consequences. But what the relationship between this management style and latent NFE empowering functions does suggest is a hypothesis: compared to the constituencies of other Native corporate regions, the NANA constituency should measure higher in each of the criterion listed below. Taking from the work of the Interamerica Foundation, Kindervatter offers the following as reconstituted, measurable indices of the empowering process:

1. Access: greater opportunities to obtain resources;
2. Leverage: increase in collective bargaining strength;
3. Choices: ability and opportunity to choose amongst options;
4. Status: improved self-image, esteem, and positive sense of cultural identity;
5. Critical Reflection Capability: using experience to accurately assess the potential merits of competing problem-solving options;
6. Legitimation: people's demands considered by officials as just and reasonable;
7. Discipline: self-imposed standards for working productively with others; and
8. Creative Perceptions: a more positive and innovative view of one's relationship to his/her milieu (p. 63).

Significantly, many of these indices have been touched upon in one form or another within the broader discussion of NANA as a special case of development. Although certainly not hard evidence, it is also significant that among the larger Alaska Native Community, NANA is pointed to as that

region displaying the least amount of internecine conflict. This observation is evidenced by the continuity of NANA corporate leadership and staff over the first decade of ANCSA, and by the relative ease with which NANA took advantage of the 1976 amendments of ANCSA and accomplished a merger with all of its village corporations excepting the corporation for the town of Kotzebue. This merger, which has pooled the region's resources, both human and material, into more appropriate economies of scale, could not have been accomplished if village people had perceived themselves as giving up power and development benefits as a result.

CONCLUSION: Special Conditions of the Special Case

From a quite specific development perspective this paper has attempted description of the issues and conditions of Alaska Native rural development and social change, with special attention to one case considered most empirically illustrative of this perspective. The anchoring perspective has been the concept of a human resources approach to development as distinguished from the conventional income-maximizing properties of the corporate economic growth model. The essential features of the human resources approach derive from development theory which places, ahead of material resources, the development of human resources and the quality-of-life conditions which nuture this development. These essential features include development of an economic-occupational structure which promotes efforts of self-sufficiency through such policies as: (a) localization of capital resources; (b) import substitution enterprises; (c) labor-intensive economics; (d) uses of technology within ecological constraints; and (e) goal formulation consistent with the evolving cultural life of the community. Also included is the notion that simultaneously with economic concerns there must occur equal development effort in the other dimensions of the human resources approach: education, health services, power distributive political participant structures, and equitable justice and security systems--real life social processes and social facts intimately connected one to the other.

From among the twelve different Native corporate regions established by ANCSA, the Northwest Arctic Inupiat region (NANA) has been singled out for anaylsis as a special case of Native rural development. NANA has been designated as a special case because the structures and functions of its development efforts operationally translate the human resource approach. Without doubt, the author of this paper finds NANA's concept of development

eloquent and its implementation to date an extraordinary achievement. However, it must be reiterated that the intent of this special case analysis is not to represent NANA as the right path to Alaska Native development. Such a declaration would be quite specious because, not only is it too early in the history of post-ANCSA Native life for these kinds of interpretive judgments, but there exist in the NANA region at least four special conditions, any combination of which are not present in many other Native regions and, hence, confound comparison and generalizability.

The first of these special conditions is that the NANA region is culturally homogeneous. In precise cultural terms the region may be divided into five sub-groupings according to dialectic, locational, and subsistence resource-use differences. But a history built upon a network of social alliances and trading relationships among the eleven villages, together with a common linguistic tradition, has forged an identifiable regional cultural identity and common political interests.

A second condition is the compact configuration of the area embraced by the NANA corporate boundary. It is true that the size of the NANA region compares roughly to that of the state of Illinois. Relative to sizes and shapes of some other Native regions, however, the logistics of communication and transportation in the NANA region are reasonably manageable.

A third significant condition is the fact that the geographic and constituency domains of the three dominant Native-directed institutions in the NANA region are coterminous. Consequently, the coordination and singleness of effort required by the regional development strategy is not confused by either a multiplicity of institutional charters within the region or an overlapping of jurisdictions beyond the corporate boundary.

The fourth special condition is that the corporate membership is firmly village-based. By this is meant that the majority of the voting membership resides within the region and either participates directly in a traditional village-based subsistence life or has strong, immediate ties to this life. As a result, NANA is subject to much less of the urban versus rural and regional perspective versus village perspective conflicts generated by ANCSA provisions.

The question now becomes: Are these necessary and/or sufficient conditions within which to carry out a NANA-styled human resources approach to Native development? By way of conclusion it may be most accurate to describe the special case of NANA development as a special composite of structures, functions, and conditions--all of which shape the existential reality: that at this time, and at this physical and cultural place, people have taken their human condition and organized it into a unique but discernable social phenomenon.

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